

arkco
F
417
.W3
F55
64:3

Flashback



University of Arkansas
Libraries, Fayetteville
ARK COLL
4:3
Received on: 10-27-14
Flashback

Volume 64, Number 3, Fall 2014

Washington County Historical Society

118 East Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701

<http://www.washcohistoricalsociety.org>

<http://www.headquartershouse.org>

Submissions

Flashback (ISSN: 0428-5573) is published quarterly in the spring, summer, fall, and winter as an official publication of the Washington County Historical Society. Send all materials for publication to: *Flashback* Editor, Washington County Historical Society, 118 East Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701.

There is no payment for articles published in *Flashback*. The editor retains the right to edit all submitted articles prior to publication.

Membership

Society membership is invited to those interested in preservation of Washington County history. Annual dues for categories of members are: Senior, Student, Public Library, \$15; General, \$25; Trail Blazer, \$50; Explorer \$100; Wagon Master, \$250; Pioneer, \$500; Statesman, \$1,000; Empire Builder, \$5,000.

Members are mailed *Flashback* each quarter. Available past issues are \$6 each, postpaid. Add \$1 postage for issues printed in 1951 through February 1972. Web site: washcohistoricalsociety.org or headquartershouse.org.

2013-14 Officers

President	J.B. Hogan
First Vice President (Membership)	Steve Litzinger
Second Vice President (Finance)	Kim Smith
Recording Secretary	Scott Van Laningham
Corresponding Secretary	Judy Brittenum
Treasurer	Louis Beland
<i>Flashback</i> Editor	Charles Alison
Director of Historic Programs	Judy Costello
Past President	Hoyt Purvis

Board of Directors

Nancy Allen, Sheree Alt, Margaret Clark, Bob Cochran, David Demorotski, Ellen Compton, Don Deweese, Justin Keen, Bill Kincaid, Carolyn Leonard, Allyn Lord, Timothy G. Nutt, Conrad Odom, Pierce Osborne, Susan Parks-Spencer, Kimberly Randle, Nadine Spears, Jackie Stites, Diane Strange, Diana Gonzales Worthen

FLASHBACK

Journal of the Washington County Historical Society
Preserving Our Past for Future Generations

Volume 64

Fall 2014

Number 3

CONTENTS

Kirby Estes: Fayetteville's First Poet Laureate.....Page 99
By J.B. Hogan

Stephen Bedford: A Mayor Connected
to the North.....Page 108
By Charlie Alison

Fagan's Attack on Fayetteville.....Page 130
A variety of sources on the 150th anniversary



In late October and early November of 1864, Confederate troops laid siege to Fayetteville briefly. The town's commander, Col. Marcus LaRue Harrison, had already ordered his Union soldiers to dig trenches and erect breastworks to repel the enemy. The strategy succeeded despite the lopsided troop strength in favor of the Confederate Army. The approach of more northern troops in pursuit of Gen. Sterling Price put the Confederate troops in motion south again and ended the siege. Read more beginning on Page 130.

Photo courtesy of Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, WCHS Collection (P-1534)

FLASHBACK

Journal of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society
Published On Point for Future Generations

Volume 114, Number 4

CONTENTS

By J. B. Hester

Stephen Beckwith: A Mississippi Riverman's Story

The Mississippi River: A Story of the River and the People Who Lived Along It

Henry's Aunt: A Story of the River and the People Who Lived Along It

A variety of letters on the 1850 census

1850-1851

1851-1852

1852-1853

1853-1854

1854-1855

1855-1856

1856-1857

1857-1858

1858-1859

1859-1860

1860-1861

1861-1862

1862-1863

1863-1864

1864-1865

1865-1866

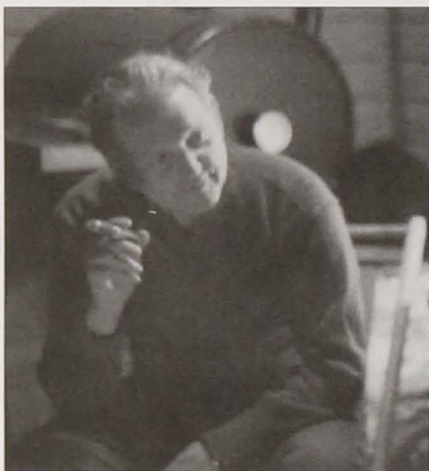
1866-1867

Kirby L. Estes: Fayetteville's First Poet Laureate

By J.B. Hogan

On April 3, 2006, in conjunction with National Poetry Month, William R. "Bill" Mayo, owner of Delta House Publishing, Indian Bay Press and its poetry journal *Poesia*, selected long-time Fayetteville resident Kirby L. Estes to be the city's first poet laureate.¹ Mayo, who had long lobbied for the city to create a poet laureate position, made it clear that Estes' position, while fully deserved, was an honorary one and would last for one year or until the City of Fayetteville established a permanent, official post.

As a poet the 68-year-old Estes was a legitimate selection for the honorary position. While still a student at Fayetteville High School in the mid-1950s, his poem "The Concert of the Stars" was accepted for two different high school poetry anthologies: *Songs of Youth*² and *Young America Sings*.³



Courtesy of Bill Mayo

Bill Mayo, now a lawyer practicing primarily in Bentonville, was the driving force behind Delta House Publishing, its journal *Poesia* and the creation of the poet laureate position.

After serving in the U. S. Navy, Estes attained Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Architecture and Landscape Architecture degrees from the University of Arkansas. He continued writing poetry during his years as an architect, publishing poems in the independent newspaper *Grapevine*⁴ and the *Northwest Arkansas Times*.⁵ Upon his retirement in 2001, Estes focused on pursuing a second career as an author and poet.

From 2003 on, Estes regularly published poetry and non-fiction and held several readings in Fayetteville. His poetry appeared in such journals as *Slant*,⁶ the *Arkansas Literary Forum*,⁷ *Megaera*,⁸ and the *Istanbul Literary Review*,⁹ and he read his work at local venues like GoodFolk House,¹⁰ Nightbird Books,¹¹ and Arsaga's Coffeehouse.¹²

Towards the end of 2005, Estes' poem "Development Will Discourage Shanty Building: A Left-Handed Protest from the Non-Right" was published in the journal *Paradoxism* and garnered him a Certificate for Distinguished Achievement in Paradoxism. His poem "Nothing of What You Say" then won second place in the 2005 Oliver W. Browning Poetry Competition sponsored by Indian Bay Press. With these latter successes, Bill Mayo was moved to select Estes as his choice for the honorary position of Fayetteville's first Poet Laureate.

Estes took to his new position with energy and enthusiasm, and from his selection in April 2006 until his untimely death in January 2008, he penned some ten articles on the subject of poetry for *Poesia* and published almost the same number of poems in journals like *Red Owl*,¹³ *Respiro*,¹⁴ *Word Catalyst*,¹⁵ and *Asbestos*.¹⁶ In April 2007, Lost Creek Press published Estes' poetry chapbook titled *Backroad*.

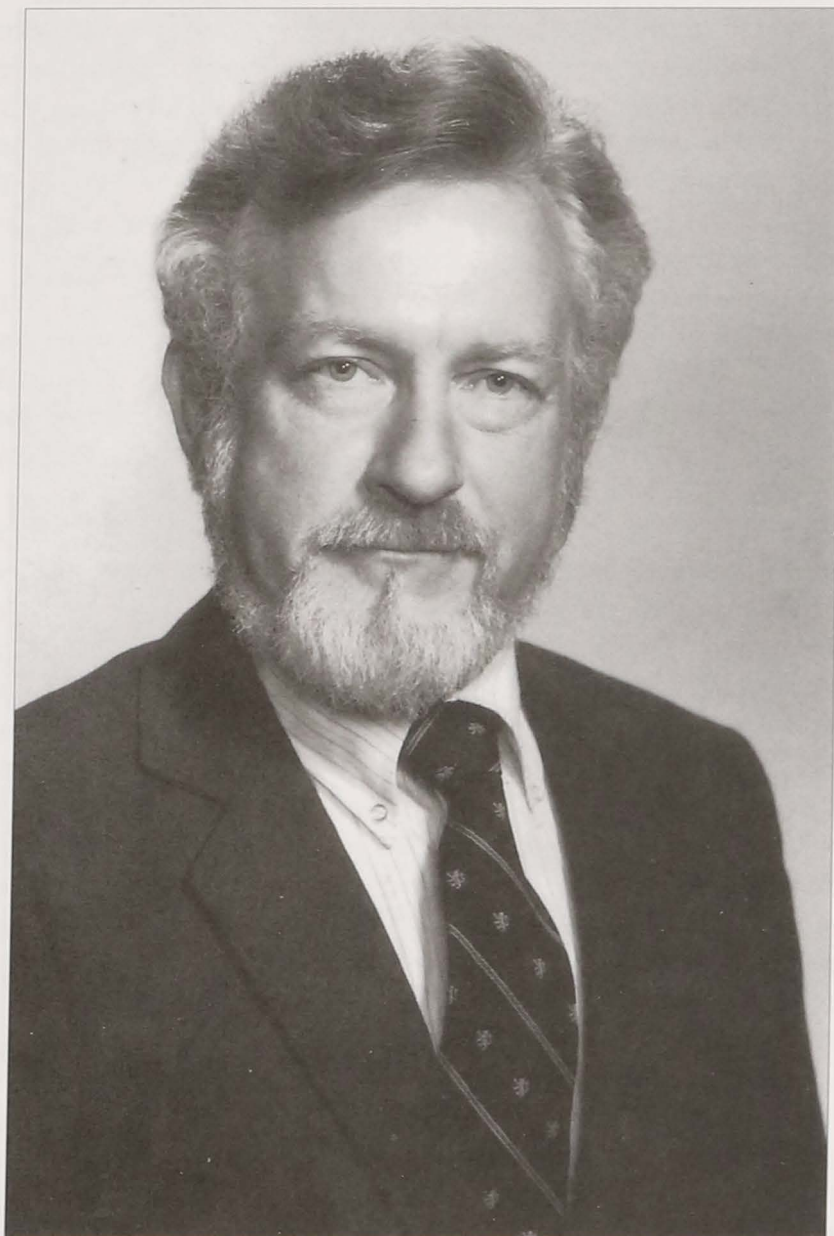
Backroad is a powerful, allusive – and sometimes elusive – poetic journey in search of meaning both personal and public. At its best, as in the ultimate long poem in the collection, "Fidelity Unbound," *Backroad* leads to a discovery of the self and an understanding that we are like "angels on the head of a pin," at once "nothing and everything."¹⁷

In addition to the general promotion of poetry, one of Estes'



Martha Hogan Estes Collection

Kirby Estes and sister Marianne. This photo is of Kirby in his days as a published high school poet.



Martha Hogan Estes Collection

Kirby Estes during the period when he was still working as an architect here in Fayetteville.

tasks as Fayetteville's first Poet Laureate was to help the new editor of Indian Bay Press, Jay Ross, lobby the city to turn this honorary designation into an official, permanent position. To that end, Ross laid out the case for Mayor Dan Coody in a long email.¹⁸ Mayor Coody was now receptive to the idea and at the city's September 13, 2006, agenda session he named a Poet Laureate Task Force comprised of Jay Ross, Bill Mayo, and Kirby Estes.¹⁹

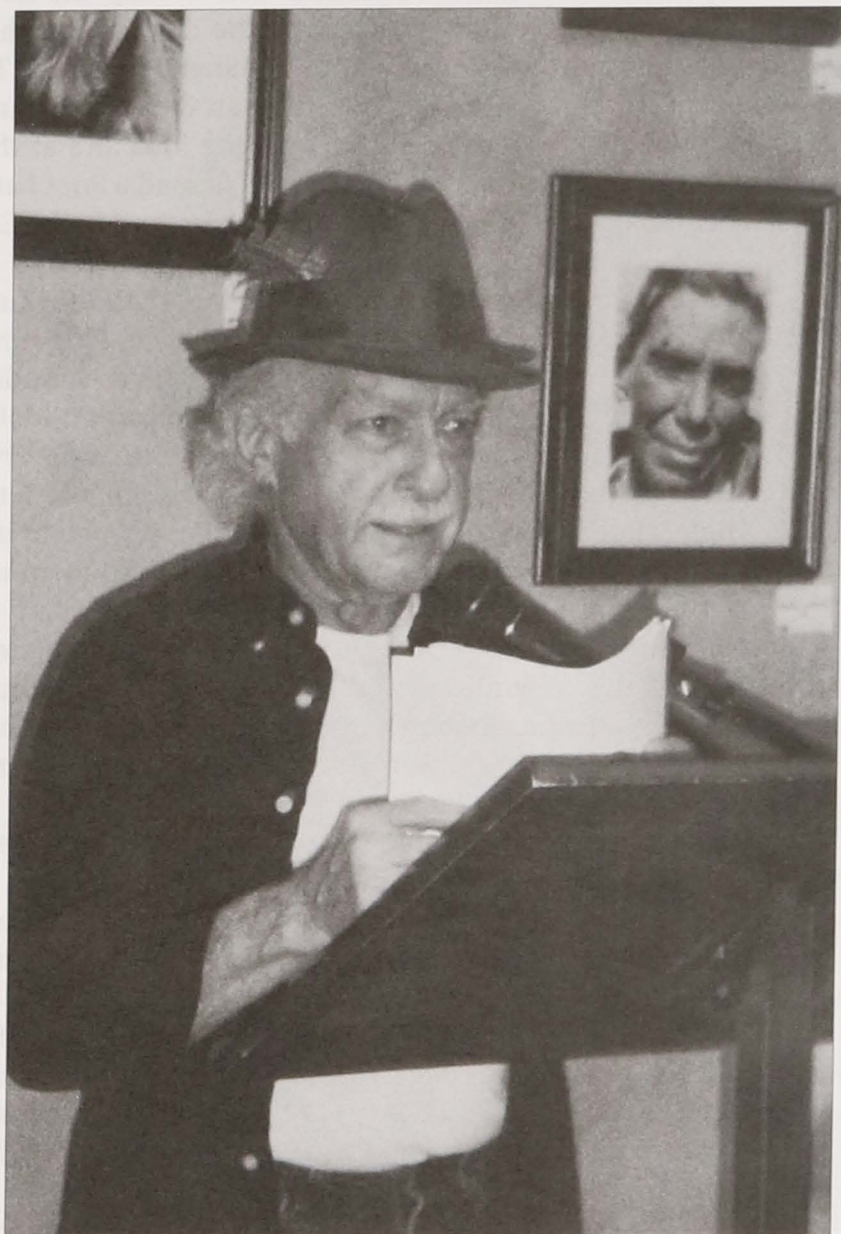
By the fall of 2006 the Task Force had selected and formed the Poet Laureate Selection and Advisory Committee. This committee consisted of renowned poet Miller Williams, co-founder of the University of Arkansas Creative Writing Program; Molly Giles, head of the University of Arkansas Creative Writing Program; Becky Cox, faculty adviser and coordinator for the Fayetteville High School journal *Connotations*; Bill Herring, computer engineer and poet; and Steve Holst, poet and board member of the Ozark Poets and Writers Collective.²⁰

The committee, with Poet Laureate Estes also in attendance, met during the fall and winter of 2006 to consider possible candidates for the position. Among the writers considered were Mohja Kahf, Rebecca Newth, Bob Haslam, Brenda Moosy and popular local slam poet Clayton Scott.²¹

All of the nominees submitted several poems for consideration by the poetry "savvy" committee. Based on the strength of a resume as well as samples of their written poetry, a selection was made.²² In a highly competitive vote, Scott won to become the city's first elected Poet Laureate.

On Saturday, April 7, 2007 at the GoodFolk House in Fayetteville, Coody proclaimed Clayton Scott the next, and first official, Poet Laureate of Fayetteville.²³ Coody and outgoing Poet Laureate Estes gave short addresses and Scott delivered some of his poetry in the contemporary "Slam" style.

Scott, a *magna cum laude* honors graduate from Southwestern Oklahoma University with a Bachelor of Science in Education and a minor in language arts, had been a teacher, television producer, an actor and comedian prior to gaining the Poet Lau-



J.B. Hogan Estes Collection

Kirby Estes at a poetry reading in 2007 at Arsaga's Coffee Shop, Gregg and Township.

reate position. His varied background also included time as a youth minister, detention counselor, and arts educator.²⁴

During his four year stint as Fayetteville's Poet Laureate, which he considered a "high honor," Scott traveled around the state teaching and being, in his words, "an ambassador for my community." He saw himself as "a representative" of the city and always promoted it as an "artistic" and "poetic" place. "Because poetry is such a misunderstood literary art," Scott has said, "it was a joy to heighten awareness and to generate the passion and joy of poetry for four years."²⁵

During National Poetry Month in April 2011, at a town hall meeting, Mayor Lioneld Jordan announced the next official Poet Laureate of Fayetteville. The choice was Miller Williams, described by Jordan as "one of the foremost American poets of the post-World War II era."²⁶

Williams' literary, academic and poetic background was impeccable. He had helped found the University of Arkansas Press in 1980²⁷ and was its director for some two decades. He had been a professor of English, foreign languages, and comparative literature at Arkansas for over thirty years as well.²⁸

Williams had published more than twenty-five books and won numerous prizes including the Amy Lowell Traveling Fellowship in Poetry. He was selected by President Clinton to deliver his poem "Of History and Hope" at Clinton's second inauguration in 1997, and the president later honored Williams with the National Arts Award for the poet's life-time contribution to American arts.²⁹

With Miller Williams selection as Fayetteville's Poet Laureate, and Clayton Scott before him, the continuity and legitimacy of the now-established position had been achieved. The once uncertain hope of Bill Mayo, Jay Ross, and Kirby L. Estes that Fayetteville would have a permanent Poet Laureate finally had come true.

Just a year later, on January 3, 2008, Estes passed away, but his poetry is still available and his final efforts live on in the now official position of Fayetteville Poet Laureate.

End Notes

1. Internet e-mail between William R. Mayo and Kirby L. Estes, April 3, 2006.
2. Estes, Kirby L., in *Songs of Youth* (anthology), American Poetry Society, 1955, p. 56.
3. Estes, Kirby L., in *Young America Sings* (anthology), National High School Poetry Association, Los Angeles, 1956, p. 79.
4. "The M. C. Escher Memorial Tone Poem" and "In Eliot's Usk," *Grapevine*, ca. 1972.
5. "Tune-In" and "Dark Rain," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, May 14, 1997.
6. "Crystal Adagio: In Memoriam," *Slant*, Vol. XVII, Summer 2003.
7. "Off the Ozarks Tawny Shore," *Arkansas Literary Forum*, October 2005, No. 7.
8. "Remember Me to Herald Square," *Megaera*, December 1, 2005.
9. "The Reunification of Troilus and Cressida," *Istanbul Literary Review*, September 2007.
10. Estes appeared at GoodFolk House, April 7, 2007.
11. Estes appeared at Nightbird Books, April 21, 2007.
12. Estes appeared at Arsaga's Coffeehouse, July 13, 2007.
13. *Red Owl*, Autumn 2006, Vol. XXIII.
14. *Respiro*, November 2007.
15. *Word Catalyst*, Fall 2007.
16. *Asbestos*, Spring 2008.
17. Review of *Backroad*, J. B. Hogan, 2007. Quotations from *Backroad*, Kirby Estes, Lost Creek Press, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 2007, p.33.
18. Internet e-mail, Jay Ross to Dan Coody, June 21, 2006.
19. Indian Bay Press Newsletter, October 24, 2006.
20. Fayetteville Arkansas Cultural Arts District Initiative, internet press release, April 6, 2007.
21. Internet email, Molly Giles to J. B. Hogan, February 16, 2012.
22. Internet email, Clayton Scott to J. B. Hogan, January 2, 2013.
23. Fayetteville Arkansas Cultural Arts District Initiative, Internet press release, April 34.13, 2007.
24. Ibid.
25. Internet email, Clayton Scott to J. B. Hogan, January 2, 2013.
26. "Miller Williams Honored as Poet Laureate of Fayetteville 2011," City of Fayetteville, Arkansas News Release, April 21, 2011.
27. Fayetteville (Ark.) Mayor Lioneld Jordan speech, University of Arkansas, April 20, 2011.
28. *Northwest Arkansas Times*, archived online article, April 4, 2011.
29. Fayetteville (Ark.) Mayor Lioneld Jordan speech, University of Arkansas, April 20, 2011.



Join the Washington County Historical Society

Become a member by filling out the form below and sending it with check to:

Washington County Historical Society
118 E. Dickson Street
Fayetteville, AR 72701

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Email _____

Membership Levels (check one)



- ☐ \$15 Senior, Student, Public Libraries
- ☐ \$25 General Membership
- ☐ \$50 Trail Blazer
- ☐ \$100 Explorer
- ☐ \$250 Wagon Master
- ☐ \$500 Pioneer
- ☐ \$1,000 Statesman
- ☐ \$5,000 Empire Builder

Washington County Historical Society is a 501c3 nonprofit corporation. Gifts above membership of \$25 are tax deductible.

Stephen Bedford: A Mayor with Connections to the North

By Charles Alison

In early 1858, when Stephen Bedford closed his general merchandise store at Springfield, Missouri, to move south and open a similar establishment in Fayetteville, Arkansas, he joined a community that had been increasingly building ties with states to the north. Bedford's role, though relatively short-lived in Fayetteville history, shows how Northern connections affected the political, economic and military fortunes of the town and its residents. Improvements in transportation northward, the arrival of a telegraphic wire from St. Louis, and geographic impediments to the south heightened these northerly ties during the late 1850s and the early 1860s.

As with many communities, Fayetteville's growth was cut short during the Civil War, as battles and skirmishes were waged in and around the town, leading eventually to withdrawal of many of the residents and the burning of a majority of the buildings in the town. Were the events that swirled in and around Fayetteville during the early 1860s, though, strictly of military making? Did Fayetteville's support for maintaining the Union, if not for abolition, play a role in the decision by the Confederacy to burn the commercial buildings and many of the residences of the city? Or were the factors that helped Fayetteville establish Northern ties economically and politically — its geographic isolation from the rest of Arkansas and relative ease of connection to Missouri — also the same factors that led to destruction of much of the town during the war?

Other historians such as Kim Allen Scott and David Yancey Thomas have looked at the period leading up to the Civil War in



Samuel Morse's 1841 map shows the primary routes of travel and immigration coming into Fayetteville. The roads to Van Buren and Ozark climb over the Boston Mountain range, the chief impediment to commerce between Fayetteville and the Arkansas River valley.

Northwest Arkansas. Scott's account of newspapers published in Washington County from 1840 to 1862 gives a good political and cultural overview of conditions in Fayetteville during the 20 years prior to secession, and Thomas's comprehensive look at the Civil War in Arkansas gives the evidence of the motivation for Arkansas to secede, but neither author tries to correlate the rise of Northwest Arkansas's fortune with its eventual heavy losses during the war.

When Fayetteville was first established in 1828, early residents came primarily from one of three directions. Most came up the Arkansas River to Van Buren and north by way of Cane Hill; others came by another traditional migration route that followed the old Osage trail from St. Louis through Springfield; and some followed a developing route from Batesville westward to Carrollton and Huntsville.¹

Although Fayetteville, initially known as Washington Court House, was named the county seat, Cane Hill proved to be the early center of settlement, in part because of its closer proximity to Van Buren and the Arkansas River. During the 1830s, a military road was built from St. Louis along the Osage Trail south to Fort Smith, Arkansas, increasing the trickle of migration from the north.²

Through the 1830s and 1840s, Fayetteville grew into the center of commerce for the Northwest Arkansas region and most of the influx of new residents came from the south during those decades. By 1850, more than 60 percent of the residents in Fayetteville had been born in southern states. The professional and merchant classes were evenly split between North and South, but the skilled labor and farming classes showed a significantly higher number of southern-born members.³ (See the chart on the opposite page.)

Between 1850 and 1860, however, Fayetteville experienced its first growth boom. The opening of Arkansas College in 1851 drew young men from across the Southwest, and the female seminaries in Fayetteville attracted a like number of women. Commerce in the town grew large enough to sustain a weekly newspaper, the *South-West Independent*, for more than the few months that previous newspapers had survived. As Scott described the town of 1860, it had cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, grocers and millers competing for business and such specialized craftsmen as watchmakers, painters, barbers, dentists, saddlers and a butcher.

The decade culminated with organization of a municipal government in 1859, the first run of stagecoaches by the But-

Class by region of birth⁴

The following shows anyone 20 years of age or older who was counted in the 1850 and 1860 censuses as well as those younger than 20 who claimed an occupation in Fayetteville. The few women who listed an occupation were counted in that occupational class. Otherwise, women were counted in the occupational class of their spouse if a spouse was readily apparent.

Year	Southern	Northern	International
------	----------	----------	---------------

Professional

Includes lawyers, physicians, druggists, dentists, editors and an engineer

1850	19	16	0
1860	21	19	1

Merchant

Includes merchants, clerks, grocers, stock traders, bakers, hotel keepers, a butcher, a miller and a tobacconist

1850	14	15	1
1860	37	40	3

Skilled labor

Includes blacksmiths, painters, watchmakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, printers, saddlers, tanners, a millwright, a seamstress and a machinist

1850	31	12	2
1860	67	45	10

Farmer

Includes farmers, wool carders and a gardner

1850	18	5	0
1860	19	25	2

Public servant

Includes clergy, teachers, sheriff, jailers, a stage driver, court clerks and a telegraph operator

1850	7	4	3
1860	13	12	4

Unknown occupation

Includes single or widowed women, a few single men and at least one man being held in jail.

1850	16	7	1
1860	23	8	5

Total

Does not include six people for whom a place of birth was not listed.

1850	105	59	7
1860	180	149	25

terfield Overland Mail Co. from Missouri to California by way of Fayetteville the same year, and the stringing of a telegraph line from St. Louis in 1860.⁵

During this period, ties to the North continued to improve as the military road became heavily traveled and trade routes to the south became less reliable. Lawyers from Fayetteville were known to represent clients in southwest Missouri, traveling to courts at Pineville and Cassville. Conversely, when a drought hit the Midwest during 1854 and 1855, the editor of the *South-West Independent*, William Quesenbury, lamented his inability to get paper supplies through his traditional trade route to the south. The Arkansas River had run too low for steamships to come up as far as Van Buren. He eventually went to St. Louis to purchase paper and thereafter advocated St. Louis markets over those to the south. Descriptions of the Butterfield stage route also show how difficult the passage from Fayetteville south to Van Buren proved to be. W.L. Ormsby, a writer for the *New York Herald*, traveled in the first coach west and wrote of the Fayetteville to Van Buren section: "I might say our road was steep, rugged, jagged, rough, and mountainous- and then wish for more expressive words in the language." Two decades later another writer described the stage trip between Ozark and Fayetteville in similar terms, explaining the number of times that he and other passengers had to get out of the coach on steep sections and help push.⁶

The owner of the Butterfield Overland Mail Co., William Butterfield, himself, described Fayetteville as one of the best stops on the route, and his son, Charles E. Butterfield, built a house on Center Street in Fayetteville in 1858 and managed the large Butterfield stables that were built on the grounds of what are now the Historic Washington County Courthouse and the Ozark Theatre building.⁷

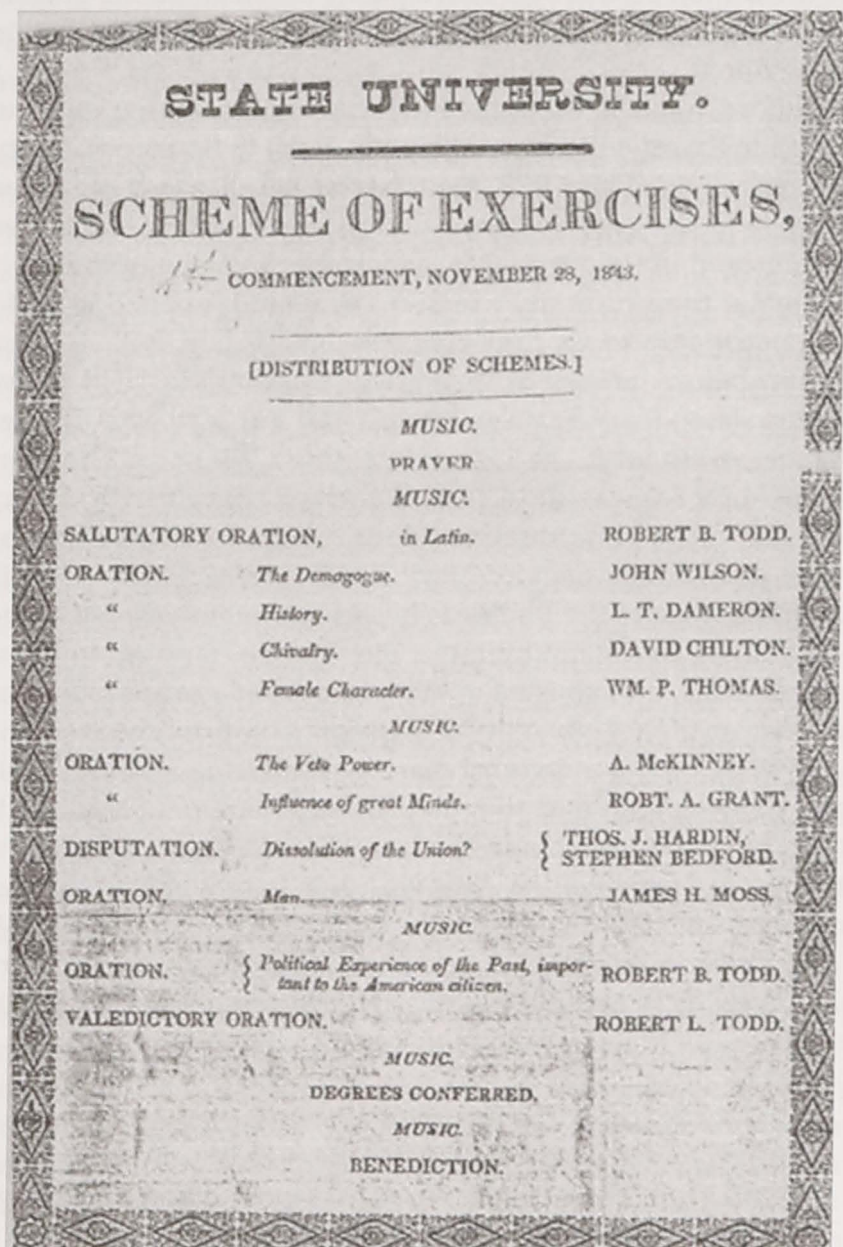
Fayetteville saw a two-fold increase in the population of free people, growing from 312 residents in 1850 to 674 residents in 1860. The majority of adults who came to Fayetteville during this decade, however, were born in northern states or out-

side the United States. By 1860, a parity between adults born in Southern states and those born elsewhere had been reached in Fayetteville.⁸

Bedford, himself, was one of these northern immigrants, but his path to Fayetteville was not simple. Born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, on April 20, 1823, Bedford was barely a year old when his family moved west to Boone County, Missouri. He was raised and educated in Columbia, Mo., where he was among the early students at the University of Missouri when it opened in 1841 and participated in its first commencement in 1843. He then read law before moving to Springfield, Missouri, in 1844 to live with his sister, Mary Frances Yancey, and her husband, Charles S. Yancey, a circuit judge for southwestern Missouri. The marriage of Mary Frances and Charles Yancey is notable in that Mary Todd, the future Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, was the maid of honor. Yancey had read law under Mary Todd's uncle, David Todd, in Lexington, Ky., and the Bedfords became acquainted with David Todd and his family in Columbia. Stephen Bedford got to know the Todd sons, first cousins to Mary Todd, and shared billing on the program of the University of Missouri's first commencement.

In 1846, Stephen Bedford married Catharine S. Kimbrough, also of Springfield, and they had three daughters. The family moved back to Columbia in the late 1840s, although Catharine returned to Springfield to stay with her family while her husband joined a party headed for the California Gold Rush in 1849. In one family letter, a sister relates that Stephen's rush toward gold appeared to be only slightly better a proposition than earlier jobs:

"Steve and company got one of their mule's legs broken before they got across Persia.⁹ We have not heard from them since. Steve is a poor unfortunate creature; we are all afraid of his having a number of misfortunes though he has gone in an excellent company and one that will stand by him to the last moment. ... Mother was much opposed to Steves [sic] going to Cali-



Program from the University of Missouri's first commencement in 1843 with Stephen Bedford listed as debating "Dissolution of the Union?"

fornia but he was very anxious and I think it was very well. He would never have made a decent living here.”¹⁰

Indeed, California proved little help for Bedford, who seemed to jump from job to job throughout his early adulthood. Bedford left California almost as soon as he arrived, returning by way of the Isthmus of Panama. His father had died back in Missouri, and Bedford was needed to run the family’s farm. His sister Sallie Bedford sounded pessimistic about Stephen’s abilities at this latest venture. In a letter she writes:

“Stephen is gaining his health rapidly and will soon be able to work on the farm. Mother speaks of letting him have the farm and negroes a year for our board and clothing. How this will [illegible] remains yet to be seen. She thinks it will take all trouble and anxiety off of her mind about the way in which the family are to be supported and Stephen is anxious to try the experiment. As it is, if things continue going on as they have been, there will be nothing to experiment on soon. The servants are entirely without a master and serve us through their own good or bad will.”¹¹

Although Stephen initially took charge of the affairs of the Bedford household in Columbia, by 1853 he and Catherine had moved to Springfield again, where he opened a general merchandise store with his brother Benjamin and served as a justice of the peace for Greene County in 1857. By early 1858, he and his brother closed their business, perhaps because their sister, Mary Frances, and her husband had both died during the preceding two years. If that were not the impetus, Bedford might well have seen Fayetteville as a simple financial opportunity. He wasn’t the only merchant headed that direction. Between 1850 and 1860, the number of merchants in Fayetteville had grown from a mere 30 to 80.¹²

In 1858, Bedford and Thomas Pollard, another Missourian,

opened a store. Although the establishment was known as Bedford & Pollard, James H. Van Hoose might have had an interest in the enterprise as well. When the Bedford family — which by 1860 consisted of Bedford, his wife, and three daughters: Mary, 12; Lissie, 6; and Sallie, 3 — first moved to Fayetteville, they lived in the same building on Center Street as did Van Hoose, by then a prominent merchant.¹³

In the 1860 Census, Bedford was listed as owning \$4,500 worth of real estate and \$2,500 worth of personal property. That year, he also changed partners, going into business with M.C. Duke. Again, there may have been a silent partner in the operation because Bedford and Duke kept track of their own credited purchases in addition to those of their regular customers who bought on credit.¹⁴

Among the payments to Bedford & Duke were drafts from the State Bank of Missouri and another to the State of Missouri, showing again the commercial connection that merchants in Fayetteville had with northern neighbors.¹⁵

Tongue in cheek, the editor of *The Arkansian* newspaper reported in 1860 that Mr. Bedford had gone to St. Louis for fish hooks, but added:

“In addition to these, he will return with a large and well selected stock of goods which he will open and sell in the new building lately erected by A.V. Rieff Esq., on the South side of the square.

“Messrs. Rieff, Onstott, Bedford and others deserve great credit for bringing out a hitherto neglected part of town. In summer, their locality will be the pleasanter within the corporation, and great crowds will flock thither for comfort as well as for doing well with their money.”¹⁶

That same year, Bedford became the second elected mayor of Fayetteville, with several prominent residents elected to the city council, including Charles E. Butterfield, James R. Pettigrew,

William T. Pollard, James Tillton Sutton, James H. Van Hoose and John Holcomb.

The national politics of those elected were a mixed bag. Bedford and Butterfield clearly had northern sympathies that were probably influenced by their livelihoods, although Bedford, as we will see, had been a Union partisan for many years. Pettigrew was one of the publishers of *The Arkansian*, which had stated as one of its objectives the mission “to stay the onrushing tide of abolition.” Van Hoose advocated secession after other states began seceding. Sutton served in the Confederate Army during the war. Holcomb’s son and step-sons served in the Confederate Army, although Holcomb himself was in his early 60s by the beginning of the war and did not serve. Interestingly, like Bedford, both Pollard and Sutton had lived in Columbia, Missouri, prior to moving to Fayetteville, though they came while still children. The city officers seemed to share a stronger connection to commerce than to national political persuasions.

Even as Fayetteville was taking steps forward civically, the crisis in national government was beginning to play out across the South, with first South Carolina voting to secede, and then conventions in other Southern and border states being called to determine the same question, whether to remain with the Union or whether to secede. And for those who favored union, the question of slavery also remained.

The abolition question was put front and center in September 1860, when a Northern Methodist minister, Rev. Anthony Bewley, was accused of abolitionist activity in Texas. He left Texas, but a pro-slavery vigilance committee from Texas took him captive at Cassville, Missouri, and brought him to Fayetteville, where he was held a few days before being taken back to Texas. In a letter to his family written while he was in Fayetteville, Bewley wrote:

“They have not put me in jail, but keep me under guard. At night I am chained fast to some person, and in the day I have liberty to walk about with the guard.

... They are now after Tom Willet. So soon as they succeed in getting him, I suppose they will set out with us to Texas on the overland stage, and if so, hand us over to the Fort Worth Committee and receive the reward. Then we will, I suppose, be under their supervision, to do with us as seemeth them good. And if that takes place, dear and much beloved wife and loving children, I shall never, in this life, expect to see you."¹⁷

Bewley was taken back to Fort Worth and hanged by a lynch mob, sparking an outcry among northern newspapers about the lack of a crime, the lack of a trial and the state of Southern extremism that could lead to the lynching of a clergyman.

Fayetteville residents, though largely in favor of maintaining the Union as late as early 1861, were not necessarily for abolition of slavery. Very rarely is abolition mentioned in letters or newspapers of the time except in derogatory terms. *The Arkansian*, for instance, stated in its prospectus that it would

“not discuss at this time abstract principles claimed as the rule of action of the various political parties of the present day. Whatever may be their merits or demerits, it should be sufficient for every true son of the South to know, that the Democratic party is the only National and Conservative political organization in the country, which can measure swords with the Hydra of Abolitionism, and stay the on-rushing tide which threatens to overwhelm the South ... ”¹⁸

Bedford, however, had spoken in favor of maintaining the Union on many occasions, but only one published source gives any hint that he might also have been sympathetic to abolition of slavery. On Jan. 21, 1861, Bedford and Capt. George Cline chaired a committee to consider the case of a man named E. White, “who has expressed sentiments so unfriendly to the South as to provoke threats of forcible expulsion if he continued longer in the

community.” The committee met again the following day to decide how to deal with White, and Bedford resigned his chairmanship in order to write a minority opinion. James R. Pettigrew, a lawyer and former editor of *The Arkansian*, was selected to present the majority report, which essentially told White to get out of town.¹⁹

In the role of dissenter, though, Bedford would take center stage two weeks later. During a large meeting on Feb. 2, 1861, called to elect delegates to a state convention on secession, Bedford charged that the secretaries of the meeting, James Van Hoose and M.C. Duke, were secessionists, that delegates had already been chosen in secret, and that a report in favor of secession had been prepared prior to the meeting. The discussions were thrown into disarray by the accusations. *The Arkansian*, which by this time was also heavily biased in favor of secession, reported that “the noise and uproar [were] almost deafening; the Judge’s stand, the Clerk’s desk, railing and every other commanding position was occupied by excited individuals using harsh and violent language, weapons freely handled, pistols were cocked and knives loosened in their scabbards.” Before push could come to shove, the meeting was abruptly adjourned *sine die* and without nomination of delegates to the state convention. Instead delegates were elected at large. In the same edition, *The Arkansian* reported briefly that Arkansas troops had taken control of the federal arsenal in Little Rock.²⁰

The Arkansian later reported that Bedford held a meeting on Feb. 9 at Pea Ridge to rally opposition to Dr. Charles W. Deane, a secessionist candidate to the state convention. Bedford also curried support for a Border Convention during the rally. The goal of such a border convention would have been, in part, to counter the secession sentiments likely to dominate the state convention and to show support for maintaining the Union or at least for Arkansas to remain neutral on the question of secession.

Although a border convention never came to pass, Washington County voters did get their say about whether to have a state convention to consider the secession question. On Feb. 18,

1861, by a majority of 974, the white male residents of Washington County voted against the proposal for a convention. In case there was a convention, although they also elected a slate of pro-Union delegates, including Judge David Walker, James J. Stirman and T.M. Gunter, all of Fayetteville.

Voting elsewhere in the state proved sufficient to call a state convention. When the state convention met in Little Rock during the next month to consider secession, Walker was elected president of the state convention. Walker, who had lived in Fayetteville for 30 years, was like Bedford in that he had been born in Kentucky and eventually wound up in Fayetteville, although his arrival was a generation ahead of Bedford's. Walker's family had traveled westward, as had Bedford's, moving to Illinois and Missouri. Walker, who had read law, then came to Arkansas in 1830 by way of the river system, down the Mississippi and up the Arkansas to set up practice in Fayetteville. From the time he arrived in Fayetteville until 1860, Walker held numerous elective offices, from prosecuting attorney in 1832 to a seat in the territorial legislature in 1835 to the state Senate in 1840 to justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court in 1848. The largest slave holder in Fayetteville, he was nevertheless in favor of maintaining the Union.²¹

In January prior to the convention, Walker had written a friend that the state convention bill had made no provision for a referendum of the people, which he called "a great and grave error." He continued:

"This bill of ours, however, makes no such provision, but gives a quorum of 50 men called together under an apportionment made ten years ago absolute power to dissolve all connection with the federal government, and to inaugurate a new governor, such as they may see fit, and which is to be binding upon us whether we approve it or not. This is a gross outrage, and one to which I never will subscribe."²²

Walker posed the question of a referendum to the convention of delegates to delay a decision about secession, confident that six months of time would give both sides of the conflict time to see the folly of secession, and under his leadership the Unionists were able to put off a secession vote by calling for a state-wide referendum to be held in August.

The state convention adjourned with an address to the voters of the state, including this excerpt:

“Thus, it will be seen, that while Arkansas is not committed to the doctrine of secession, she condemns coercion by the Federal Government, and recommends the removal of causes that might lead to a collision; and the adoption of constitutional means to restore peace and fraternal relations between the sections, and happiness and prosperity to our once united, but now distracted, country.”²³

Collision came sooner rather than later, though, with South Carolina guns firing upon Fort Sumter, S.C., in April. Although the reaction in many parts of Arkansas to the bombardment bordered on mass hysteria, as one writer put it, the mood in Northwest Arkansas was one of disillusionment. The state convention was called again into session on May 6, 1861, and even Walker voted in favor of secession after hearing of President Lincoln’s call for Arkansas troops to prevent secession and the threat of federal intervention.²⁴

Almost immediately, Confederate companies began forming in Fayetteville. Confederate strategists had believed they would be able to use Fayetteville as a northern post, and the Confederate victory during the summer of 1861 at Wilson’s Creek in Missouri seemed to verify as much. Union supporters in the community were now taken to task for their previous political allegiances, and Bedford, with a commercial business to maintain and a family to protect, was called to say whom he supported now. One writer from the period recounted Bedford’s shift:

"In turn a school teacher, a farmer, a lawyer, a merchant, and a minister, he possessed withal an aptitude for talking, and was a very earnest Union man. In fact, there were none more so. He favored the uniting of northwestern Arkansas to Missouri, should the State secede, or if that act proved to be difficult of accomplishment, the independence of his section, rather than submission to the will of a seceding majority. As troubles thickened, however, his patriotism became less ardent, and when later, Rains and Coffee were encamped in the vicinity of Fayetteville, and doubts were thrown upon his fidelity to the South, he made a speech to the soldiery that satisfied even the most exacting.

"Whatever he might have been, he was now a rebel, and possibly congratulated himself upon his idiosyncrasy that enabled him so easily to adapt himself to circumstances. His versatility was clearly his strength, for those who know him, know him, and they all seem to concur in their estimate of his character."²⁵

The supply lines from the Arkansas River, though, proved more difficult to maintain for the Confederates than did hearts and minds of the community. By the end of 1861, Union forces were beginning to press southward along the military road, the same route that had brought commerce and affluence to Fayetteville.

William Baxter, president of Arkansas College and a Union sympathizer, wrote that delivery of the mail had stopped and circulation of newspapers ceased. Items such as school books, stationery, medicine, groceries, needles and matches were now impossible to get. "Soon the fact stared every man in the face, that for nearly every necessity, and all the luxuries of life, we had hitherto been dependent on the now hated North."²⁶

As the Union forces moved into Arkansas, Confederate forces packed up to move south of the Boston Mountains. On Feb. 22, 1862, Confederate cavalry units under Gen. Benjamin McCull-

och were ordered to set fire to many of the buildings in town. Although many of these buildings appeared to have military import, such as the large stables of the Butterfield Overland Mail Co. and the Fayetteville Female Institute, which had been turned into an arsenal, most of the buildings were simply general merchandise stores or vacant houses and appeared to be of little military value.

Louisianans under command of Col. Louis Hébert ordered merchants on the Fayetteville square out of their businesses, and Confederate soldiers set fire to all commercial buildings, ironically starting with the general store of William McIlroy and James H. Van Hoose, both of whom had supported secession. At day's end, only one brick store, owned by merchant Stephen Stone, still stood on the square along with the brick courthouse and the brick Christian Church at the southwest corner. When the Fayetteville Female Institute was set afire at the corner of Dickson and College, exploding shells from within it set other buildings on fire as well. The Confederates also torched the town's steam-powered mill.²⁷

If the decision to set fire to much of the city were a military objective, it proved a double-bladed sword. Although the Union pushed easily into Fayetteville in the wake of the fires, the federal forces almost immediately withdrew to near the Missouri border and their own supply lines. Two weeks later, the Confederate forces reclaimed Fayetteville, where little was left to assist them in their push north.

During that push, the Confederates were not satisfied with their earlier demolition of Fayetteville and set fire to the buildings of Arkansas College, the leaders of which were known to be sympathetic to the Union. One of them, Judge Jonas Tebbetts, was arrested as a traitor to the Confederacy and taken before Gen. McCulloch, who ordered that Tebbetts be sent to Fort Smith to await McCulloch's return, at which time Tebbetts would be hanged for treason.²⁸

McCulloch, however, never returned. His troops met the Union on March 6, 1862, at the Battle of Pea Ridge, a battle in

which McCulloch and several other leading Confederate officers would die and through which the Union troops would decisively secure Missouri for the Union. Again the Confederate troops retreated south of the Boston Mountains. Tebbetts was eventually released and returned to Fayetteville, where he stayed for a time at risk of his life as did other men who were sympathetic to the Union. Baxter wrote that the summer of 1862 saw the town change hands numerous times as troops moved in and out of the region, changing the political dynamic:

"The frequency of these changes rendered the citizens of different views extremely tolerant of each other; neither party knew how long the other might be in the ascendancy; and though the warmth of former friendship was neither felt nor expressed, the bitterness of past enmity was, if not forgotten, at least restrained."²⁹

While the troop movements and armed skirmishes continued during this period, civilian residents of Fayetteville debated the safest course of action, whether to hunker down and hope the war would be short-lived or to pack up belongings and flee for safety. Many residents sympathetic to the Confederacy headed south together either in late 1861 or early 1862, some simply trying to get south of the Boston Mountains, others headed for Texas.

One of the participants, Sarah Yeater, described the scene: "... the line of carriages, wagons and horsemen must have been two miles or more long as they crossed the Boston Mountains...."³⁰

Likewise, many residents sympathetic to the North waited until federal troops had retaken the town before fleeing to Cassville, Springfield and St. Louis, also in search of safety from the warring factions and marauding bushwhackers.

The Bedfords very likely began looking for ways to move north as well, although the birth of a fourth daughter, Maria, may have played a part in delaying the family's departure.³¹ Bedford

started clearing the outstanding accounts of his business during late 1861 and early 1862. No transactions were recorded beyond mid-1862, but the family remained in Fayetteville through at least early 1863.

The Union reoccupied Fayetteville after the battle of Prairie Grove, where many of the homes and public buildings were put to use as hospitals to care for the wounded from that battle. The new provost marshal, Lt. Col. Albert Webb Bishop described an incident involving Bedford in early 1863:

"It so happened in February of the present year, that Mr. Bedford was inconsiderately arrested at Fayetteville. He was at once put to labor, and before his release could be effected had done good service in carrying water from a well to a hospital. Tall in stature, with a countenance that once seen can never be forgotten, a white hat that had no regard for the seasons, and a diminutive guardsman following him around with a huge musket and serious look, he was a picture to behold, if not a pattern to imitate. His arrest annulled, he walked light-heartedly homeward, and though he has since retired within himself, never visiting those places where he once was an oracle, his indecision is still his failing."³²

Ira Russell, the director of hospitals of the federal Army of the Frontier, was stationed in Fayetteville in late 1862 and early 1863 along with two sons, one of whom in letters home mentioned Bedford, his wife and their eldest daughter, Mary, by then 14 years old. Fred Russell, the son and clerk of Ira Russell, wrote:

"I have a talk with Mary frequently on Secesh etc and I of course endorse all her doctrines as they sound very pretty. She is quite a dear little creature interesting in her spiteful Secesh, poetical [tragedy] and romantic fervor. In her time, she has cut up dresses for the C.S.A soldiers

"They are going to enroll the citizens here but she defies all the powers that be or ever were to make her take the oath. They are in a great stew tonight about the matter."³³

The Bedfords did eventually leave Fayetteville that year for safer territory. Closing up shop again, he and his family likely pulled out when the Union withdrew once again to Missouri after the Battle of Fayetteville and led a large contingent of Union-sympathetic families back to Springfield. The Bedfords apparently returned to Boone County, Missouri, where in 1864, the Bedfords' first son, Wilson was born.³⁴

Bedford was listed as working as a drayman at Columbia in 1870, the last in a long line of careers. He died Oct. 20, 1875, and his wife, Catharine, died April 24, 1894. Both are buried at Columbia Cemetery at Columbia, Missouri.³⁵

The war of the trans-Mississippi soon after moved south of the Boston Mountains and across southern Arkansas, regaining control of Little Rock and eventually the rest of the state prior to the end of the Civil War.

How far did the presence of Union sympathizers such as Stephen Bedford affect the welfare of Fayetteville? Doubtless, had the entire city been loyal to the Confederacy, the rebel troops might have felt neither a strategic need to burn most of the city nor might they have needed to retreat beyond the Boston Mountains in the first place. However, the "damned Yankees" and traitors to the Confederacy who remained in Fayetteville proved to be a liability that Gen. McCulloch couldn't afford once it became clear that the Confederacy would not be able to hold Missouri.

As much physical destruction as McCulloch ordered during his troops' sorties across Northwest Arkansas, it is tempting to think that he was exacting vengeance upon Union sympathizers; however, he seemed to wreak havoc blindly according to accounts of movements, causing Secessionists as much trouble as Unionists, and his death in battle was not uniformly mourned, not even by the soldiers under him.

To a much larger degree, the geography of the Ozarks seemed to play the major role in dictating where conflicts happened in Northwest Arkansas. The geographic features that made Washington and Benton counties good trading partners for Missouri — the relatively easy level route of the Military Road to the north and the relative difficulty of the route south — also made the two counties more likely to suffer in a war between the North and South. Safety for the South meant retreating beyond the Boston Mountains to Van Buren; Safety for the North meant retreating beyond the Missouri border. The land between proved to be the deadliest in Arkansas, where the battles of Pea Ridge, Prairie Grove and Fayetteville all occurred along the Military Road, the tie to the North.

End Notes

1. Pilcher, Bruce Francis. Unpublished master's thesis: "The Settlement Geography of Prairie Township, Washington County, Arkansas." (University of Arkansas: 1975) 29.
2. Neal, Joseph. *History of Washington County, Arkansas*. (Springdale, Ark., Shiloh Museum: 1989), 85-87
3. National Archives Microfilm Publications. Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Arkansas, Washington County, Town of Fayetteville. 871-880.
4. Seventh and National Archives Microfilm Publications. Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1850, Arkansas, Washington County, Town of Fayetteville. 611-627.
5. Campbell, William S. *One Hundred Years of Fayetteville: 1828-1928*. Jefferson City, Mo.: 1928. p ??.
6. Neal. *History of Washington County*, 158
7. Campbell. *One Hundred Years of Fayetteville*, 19
8. Eighth Census.
9. Persia was an early Missouri town near the intersection of Boonslick Trace and Perche Creek, west of Columbia and about 28 miles from Fayette, Mo.
10. Sallie Bedford to Mary Frances Bedford Yancey. Charles S. Yancey Letters, Western Historical Manuscripts, University of Missouri May 12, 1849.
11. Ibid. June 27, 1851.
12. Eighth Census. 611-627.
13. Ibid. p 613.
14. Based on the accounts of a ledger from a general merchandise establishment in Fayetteville during the years 1860-1862, believed by the author to be that of Bedford & Duke mercantile. The ledger prominently shows the credited accounts of Stephen Bedford and M.C. Duke, with Bedford's account running on for three full pages. Although most accounts in the ledger are very specific with

regard to items purchased, i.e. "tobacco" or "cloth" or "corn," the items credited to Bedford's account typically state only the generic abbreviation "Mdis," a notation that would appear to show that the writer was Bedford himself and that he needed no recollection of what he had bought. Also, the ledger was in the collection of Nathaniel Madison Ragland, a long-time pastor of the First Christian Church during the late 19th century and early 20th century. Bedford's family was prominent in establishing a church of the same denomination in Boone County, Missouri, and he and his family would likely have been members of the Fayetteville congregation too.

15. Ibid.
16. *The Arkansian*. March 30, 1860.
17. *New York Times*. January 23, 1861.
18. *The Arkansian*. March 5, 1859.
19. Ibid. Feb. 1, 1861.
20. Ibid. Feb. 8, 1861. No record of Bedford's minority opinion has been found.
21. Neal. History of Washington County, 101.
22. David Walker to D.C. Williams. David Walker Papers. (MS W15). Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville. Jan. 29, 1861.
23. Campbell. *One Hundred Years of Fayetteville*. ??
24. Scroggs, Jack B. "Arkansas in the Secession Crisis," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. 12 (1953), 221.
25. A.W. Bishop. *Loyalty on the Frontier, or Sketches of Union Men of the South-West*. (E.P. Studley and Co.: St. Louis, 1863) 184.
26. Baxter, William. *Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove; or, Scenes and Incidents of the War in Arkansas*. (Poe and Hitchcock: Cincinnati, Ohio, 1864) 24-25.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. pp 35-36.
29. Ibid. p 73.
30. Yeater, Sarah J. "My Experience During the War Between the States." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. 4 (1945). 11.
31. Ninth Census. p 72.
32. A.W. Bishop. *Loyalty on the Frontier*, 184-85.
33. Fred Russell to his sister, Jennie Russell, Jan. 17, 1863. Ira Russell Letters (MC 581). Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville. The oath to which he refers was an oath of allegiance to the United States.
34. Ninth Census. A second son was born about 1869, and all six children were still alive and living in a home in Columbia Township, Missouri, at the time of the 1870 census. Stephen Bedford's occupation was listed as a "dragman," possibly intended to be "drayman," and Catharine Bedford was listed as keeping house. Value of their real estate was estimated at \$3,000 and personal property at \$600.
35. Evans, Mrs. E.E. and Mrs. J. Frank Thompson. "Tombstone Records of Boone County, Missouri." Columbia, Mo. Privately printed: 1934. 23.



Call for Submissions: Eighth Annual Prize

The Washington County Historical Society announces the eighth annual competition for the Walter J. Lemke Prize and the Lessie Stringfellow Reid Prize with a call for articles. Anyone interested in Washington County history, whether a professional or amateur historian, is encouraged to enter. Topics can be on any phase of Washington County's history or archeology, deal with an individual or institution connected with the county, and can address any time period.

A \$250 prize is offered in each of two categories: the Walter J. Lemke Prize for best article about Washington County history with preference given for subjects outside of Fayetteville; and the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize for best article about Fayetteville. Winners will be recognized at the society's annual meeting.

Manuscripts will be judged on their contribution to the expansion of the county's history; the originality of the subject; and, the use of primary and secondary sources. The manuscripts must be original material, and must not have been previously published; no more than 40 pages, typed, and double-spaced with endnotes included on separate, double-spaced pages, although they do not count toward the 40-page limit. The title page should contain the heading "WCHS PRIZE," the full title of the manuscript, the author's name, mailing address, telephone number, and email address.

Entries become the property of the Washington County Historical Society and will not be returned to the author. All submissions will be considered for publication in *Flashback*. The historical society reserves the right to award one or no prizes.

Copies of all entries in the Lemke Prize will be deposited with the Special Collections Department at the University of Arkansas Libraries. Entries may be mailed to Lemke Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701, or e-mailed to charlie.alison@gmail.com by June 30, 2015.

For additional information on the prizes, please contact Charlie Alison at the above mailing address, at 575-6731 or at charlie.alison@gmail.com.

Fagan's Attack on Fayetteville

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following three pieces are reprinted at this time to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the siege of Fayetteville during the Civil War. The first article originally appeared in the Northwest Arkansas Times 1985 and was reprinted in November 1985 issue of Flashback (Vol. 35, No. 4: 8-13).

By Pat Donat

FOREWORD: Last July (1985) while going through a box of old books which had been stored for a number of years, having come from my grandmother's library in the Walker-Knerr-Williams house (*Flashback*, August 1983) I picked up a red-bound book and read on its spine "History of the Second Colorados" by Williams. The author's name was hardly an uncommon one, but I had determined to check each book carefully and thoroughly, so I opened it.

On the flyleaf was my grandmother's name written in faded ink: "Ida C. (Corbett) Knerr, 1885, Allerton, Iowa." Well, that made the acquisition of the book a hundred years ago, anyway. Facing the title page was a lithographed steel engraving. With the magnifying glass I read: "Max Levy Eng., N.Y." the engraving showed a strong-faced, pleasant woman, her straight hair pulled back from a center part, a patterned and banded scarf and stock tie at the neckline of her plain dress. Underneath her picture were words, lithographed in handwriting: "Yours truly, Ellen Williams, Co. A. 2nd Colorado Cav."

I was struck, immediately intrigued. What was this? A woman writing a military history? In that day and time? About a cavalry company? And why did my grandmother have this book? Our family has produced its share of citizen soldiers, but I knew

my grandmother thought acts of war were irrational, to say the least. Why would she have this single book about what must be a Civil War military history of some kind?

The mystery was solved on the title page: "Three years and a Half in the Army; or History of the Second Colorados" by Mrs. Ellen Williams, Allerton, Iowa." Aha! They both lived in Allerton! The author, Mrs. Williams, and my grandmother, Mrs. Knerr, must have known each other in that small town of Allerton in rural Wayne County of southwestern Iowa. My grandmother was a liberated woman, far ahead of her time, and a feminist before the term was invented. She would have supported any woman's literary efforts in their constricted, narrowly defined social milieu. She would have applauded Mrs. Williams' success in publishing her book.

The book was what it said it was, a history of the Second Colorado Cavalry during the Civil War. (Colorado was a territory then and did not become a state until August 1, 1876.) But Colorado produced this regiment, and others, to fight for the Union of the United States of America. Mostly, Colorado's troops defended their territory from Texans who tried to take it over for the Confederacy. But the Second Cavalry, composed of twelve companies, conducted a number of campaigns and assisted in other engagements. As I read on, I came upon a description of Fayetteville, Arkansas in 1864 during the retreat of Confederate General Sterling Price from Missouri. I hardly dared believe it!

My grandmother almost certainly would have read this book back in 1885 in spite of her distaste for military matters. But she probably did not remember the references to Fayetteville by the time she and her family moved from Iowa to Arkansas in 1910. If she did remember that part of the book, her comments about it simply didn't register in my young, unthinking consciousness.

Never, however, did she discard a book, so that Ellen Williams' History of the Second Colorado had made the journey to Fayetteville, along with all the Knerr's other books and household goods in November of 1910.

By now, I thought that perhaps my find was a piece of undis-

covered Civil War history, especially since a line in small print on the title page had said:

"Published for the author." That made it seem likely that a relatively small number of books had been printed. So I turned to a journalist-historian who is also a friend, Pat Donat, feature writer for the *Northwest Arkansas Times* in Fayetteville. The article which follows was published in the *Times* on Sunday, July 18, 1985. Since then I have permitted the University of Arkansas Library to photocopy the book, and will eventually give it to Special Collections in that library for use by historians and researchers.

Elizabeth (Betty) Bassett Williams

AUTHOR'S NOTE: It is exceedingly rare to find first hand accounts of Civil War battles that have not previously been discovered but Betty Williams has made available a book that describes Fayetteville in late 1864 during the retreat of Confederate General Sterling Price from Missouri.

Even more unusual is the fact that the history of the Second Colorado Cavalry is written by a woman who with her two children shared the experiences of her husband a bugler in Company A of the Second Colorado.

The book, entitled *Three Years and a Half in the Army; or, the History of the Second Colorado*, is written by Ellen Williams and published by Fowler & Wells Co., New York City, in 1885. It contains a full complement of the regiment, listed by companies with a further listing of trades and nationalities represented in the regiment.

The independent companies of Company A and B of the Second Colorado Regiment were mustered in the fall of 1861 in Canon City, Colo. when that state was still a territory. The ranks were composed of hardy miners and they fought in Texas and New Mexico before being ordered to St. Louis, Mo.

Company A reported to Fort Garland in New Mexico in December and Company A was ordered to report to Santa Fe, N.M. The move was made in three wagons with six yoke of oxen to

each one. The author travelled with two young sons and the women and children were ordered to stay at Santa Fe while the men went to Fort Union. After this the women and children rejoined the companies at Fort Craig. This assignment, according to Williams, was one of the most disagreeable places in which to stay. "Tarantula, centipedes and tail-toads were frequent bedfellows; the provisions were of the poorest quality, both bread and meat wormy and the water was as thick as porridge."

However, there was one bright spot and the paymaster made his appearance for the first time since enlistment, "which was very nearly a year." The women lived about five miles from the Fort during this assignment.

At the beginning of 1863 the companies were ordered "to march forthwith to the States."

They reached St. Louis and at Benton Barracks were supplied with horses. Here the two companies with two pieces of artillery were ordered to escort a provision train from Fort Scott to Fort Smith.

Christmas of 1863 was spent at Fort Riley and the Second Colorado Cavalry was formed with James H. Ford as colonel. It was composed of 12 companies, with 1,100 men each armed with government sabre, a Star's carbine, and a Star's revolver.

Mrs. Williams was not impressed with the weapons. "The Star's carbine (is) an arm capable of throwing a ball with great force and precision when properly adjusted, but of uncertain fire, a very important defect, when the life of a brave man was depending; also Star's revolver, a good pistol, with one serious objection, the revolving apparatus was liable to get out of order after a few discharges. It seemed strange, with such imperfect arms, so few accidents should happen, only one or two being the result therefrom."

The Second Colorado Cavalry was kept busy fighting bushwhackers in Missouri until late September when General Sterling Price invaded the state.

They were engaged in several battles and on Oct. 31, 1864, were at Newtonia enroute to Fayetteville in pursuit of Price.

By early November they reached the Pea Ridge Battleground. "On the morning of the third of November, the command again took up the line of march, in spite of the falling rain and muddy road and at about eight o'clock we passed over the battleground of Pea Ridge, the furrowed ground and the scarred and torn trees giving evidence of the fierce struggle between the Union and the Rebel forces in the year 1861." At ten o'clock it commenced snowing and continued throughout the balance of the day. After traveling 18 miles the army camped for the night.

"At three o'clock on the morning of the fourth, the camp was aroused by the shrill notes of the bugle sounding the assembly and in one hour's time, the command was moving forward in the direction of Fayetteville where a portion of the rebel army, under the notorious Fagan, was laying siege to that post; which was defended by the First Arkansas Infantry regiment, with two small howitzers. The storm had now abated, although it was yet stinging cold, and the command pushed forward as fast as the condition of the roads and the jaded stock would admit of, to relieve the heroic garrison from the attack of five times their number, assisted by two pieces of artillery.

"The thunder of the cannon was distinctly heard, and our troops eagerly pushed forward with the almost certain expectation of having an engagement with the enemy. But Fagan had his scouts out, and being made aware of our approach raised the siege and fled in the direction of Cane Hill, where the main body of Price's army was camped.

"The command reached Fayetteville at 11 o'clock, the rebels having abandoned the siege, three hours' previous. The garrison and the citizens of the town were necessarily frightened at the unexpected appearance of such a large force of the enemy, and were greatly relieved upon witnessing our approach. The siege had lasted some four hours, resulting in the killing of a rebel Lieutenant and two privates; the garrison suffering no loss further than the wounding of one man, and the damaging of a few houses with rebel shot and shell. One conspicuous house, into the cellar of which was congregated fifty or sixty women and

children, was completely riddled; five shells have passed directly through it, and one of them exploding in the kitchen shattered the walls in a frightful manner. A solid shot fired at this house passed through the hewed-log walls and striking a mule killed it instantly."

On arriving at the Post, the command immediately went into camp and remained during the day to rest the jaded stock.

It is a little difficult to reconcile the fact that Fayetteville was almost equally divided in sympathies with the North and South with Mrs. Williams' assertion that the citizens were dismayed by the large Confederate force since Dr . W.B. Welch of this area was chief surgeon with Fagan's command.

Colonel M. La Rue Harrison, commander of the Fayetteville post, in his official report said that a scout reported 8,000 rebels with artillery marching upon the town from Cane Hill. "I found this report to be very nearly correct. Price detached Fagan with 5,200 men and two pieces of artillery, which force was joined on the march by 1,500 men. They attacked my pickets and commenced bombarding the town with all their boasted chivalry, not giving me the least time to remove families (mostly their own at that) nor demanding a surrender. The bombardment was kept up with one 6 pounder rifle gun and one 12 pounder field howitzer until nearly sunset. Three times the order was given to charge the works, but each time the men on



Col. Marcus LaRue Harrison, U.S.



This photograph, which ran with Pat Donat's 1985 story about the attack on Fayetteville, was believed for many years to be a picture of the First Arkansas Light Artillery Brigade, but recent research by Alan Thompson of



Photo courtesy of Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, WCHS Collection (P-1534)

the Prairie Grove Battlefield State Park into the type of artillery pictured, mountain howitzers, indicates that the unit is more likely to be the mountain howitzer battery attached to the 1st Arkansas Cavalry, Fayetteville.

coming within range of my rifles shrank from the assault and fled to a safe position. At sunset the retreat of the enemy commenced and was continued throughout the night leaving about 600 behind." On the arrival of the Army of the Border, Harrison's command was ordered to join in the pursuit of Price.

Colonel Ford, in his official report takes care of the Fayetteville skirmish with greater dispatch. "On the 4th instant (November) we arrived at Fayetteville, relieving that place from the determined attacks of the rebel General Fagan, commanding division in General Price's army."

Mrs. Williams continues her narrative. "At twelve the next day, we were again in motion, pursuing the route taken by the retreating enemy, through the Ozark Mountains in a southwest direction toward Cane Hill, a little village nearly twenty miles distant from Fayetteville. That night our troops camped at Prairie Grove. Here the men feasted on the abundance of apples that were found in the neighboring orchards, affording a luxury that was altogether unexpected and consequently all the more welcome. These together with plenty of beef, pork and sorghum molasses that was discovered hidden away, afforded a living that was very heartily partaken of and very highly appreciated by the men.

"The ground exhibited abundant evidence of the hardly contested battle I fought here in 1862. The prairie, containing some two hundred acres, was entirely surrounded by a grove of small timber, inside of which the Union army was camped and hundreds of tent stakes were still protruding from the ground; grape-shot percussion shells and musket balls were strewn about; trees were scarred and torn and in some instances entirely severed by a passing shot."

The pursuit of Price's army continued and about noon the next day the command reached Cane Hill "and found it had been evacuated by the rebel forces in the greatest haste and alarm — having being informed by their scouts that a Federal force, 30,000 strong, was rapidly approaching."

"On receiving this information the greatest consternation

prevailed and although it was late in the evening, orders were issued to march immediately, and disencumbering themselves of everything that could cause them delay they fled precipitately in the direction of the Arkansas River in the hope of reaching and crossing it before being overtaken."

The author claims that the Confederate sick and wounded unable to proceed without the aid of ambulances were left. The rebel army was driven to the Texas line when the pursuit was given up and the Colorado troops returned to their headquarters.

During Fagan's attack on Fayetteville a cannon ball from his battery had damaged the Walker-Stone House on Center Street , but the date given for the attack was Oct. 3, 1864, not Nov . 4 as stated by this author. However, the military records confirm the author's Nov. 4 date.

The conspicuous house she refers to is not known. Both the nearby Ridge House and Reiff House (now Moore's Chapel) were in the same neighborhood and the Ridge House was a log structure and a former basement was discovered during its restoration but certainly was not "completely riddled." Many Civil War vintage miniballs were found during archeological digs at both the Ridge House and Walker Stone House.

The Rieff dwelling, built in 1857 had served as a commissary for the Confederate Army in 1862 and was held by Union soldiers after the Battle of Fayetteville.

Gen. Sterling Price's Report to Brig. Gen. W.R. Boggs

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following report is excerpted from the Southern Historical Society Papers. R.A. Brock, ed. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1876).

Report of Gen. Sterling Price to Brig. Gen. W.R. Boggs, chief of staff, about the Missouri Campaign in October 1864:

"...On the 29th we marched twenty-six miles and encamped on Sugar creek, five miles south of Pineville, passing through that town. On the 30th and 31st we reached Maysville, near the Arkansas line, marching forty-three miles. November 1st we reached Boonsboro, or Cane Hill, as it is commonly termed, marching seventeen miles. Then information was received by General Fagan from Colonel Brooks that he had the town of Fayetteville, Arkansas, closely invested, having forced the garrison within their fortifications, and asking for men to enable him to take it. As this was a place of importance to the Federals, and its capture would be of great advantage to the cause, upon General Fagan's earnest solicitation, I ordered a detail of five hundred men and two guns to be made to him for that purpose, which was furnished by General Shelby, under command of Colonel Elliott — the guns from Collins' battery. The expedition started to Fayetteville, formed a junction with Colonel Brooks, but before the place could be taken, the approach of General Blunt, with a large cavalry force, caused the seige [sic] to be raised, and Colonel Elliott rejoined his command. Our march from Illinois river to Cane Hill was over a bad road, rough and hilly, rendered worse than usual by constant rain; in consequence, much of the stock became worn out and was abandoned on the route. On the 3d I remained in camp; the weather very bad, both snowing and raining during the day. ..."

Correspondence in the Missouri Democrat

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter signed with only an X was published by the Missouri Democrat of St. Louis on Nov. 14.

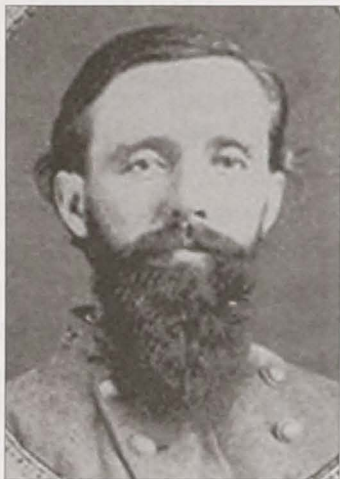
Col. Brooks's Investment of That Post His Reinforcement By Fagan Rebel Attack and Repulse Gallant Conduct of Our Troops

Spades Are Trumps, &c.

Late last month I forwarded you a history of military operation in and about Fayetteville. I propose to resume in brief, and by so doing inform the "outside barbarians" how we campaign in this mountain region.

Colonel Brooks, with his command, numbering about two thousand five hundred men, remained after his repulse on the 25th of October investing the Post just as closely as his sense of prudence and his fear of bullets would permit, declaring that Col. Harrison should have neither forage for the public animals, nor subsistence for his men. By good fortune we had twenty days and one quarter rations on hand, and, therefore, were in no trouble on this score, well knowing that ere it was exhausted, Price's campaign must be ended and our pressure relieved. In the matter of forage, papers were tight. We had but two hundred horses and could not send out a train. To do so was to ensure its capture. Colonel Harrison, with his usual prudence, hit an expedient to furnish his horses, by furnishing each mounted man with a sack, dashing the men out through the enemy's lines, and back, bringing forage enough to keep our stock alive. Once Captain D.C. Hopkins, of our 1st regiment Arkansas cavalry, with

275 men was attacked by Brooks's entire command, and only succeeded in saving his men by skill and daring; fighting his way for five miles. Thus we lived and watched, well assured that if the fortunes of war should compel Price to move his army out through Northwest Arkansas, we would have a hard struggle. Brooks expected it, and told his friends that "when Price came down he would have men and guns enough to raise the 1st Arkansas cavalry out of their boots." Colonel H. expected it and day and night he worked to complete and strengthen our earthworks. He knew the spades were his main dependence. By the 1st of November it was almost completed, and then we knew that Price was out of Missouri, and the time had come to test our manhood. Early on the morning of the 3d, scouts reported General Fagan approaching from the west with a column of 8,000 men and two guns. At 10:30 A.M. they drove in our pickets, and at 11, opened with two guns well served, on our earth-works, at the same time deploying heavy lines on the south and left of us, gradually extending their lines on the north. At noon they had massed an attacking column on the north, and soon attempted to deploy and dress a line to charge the works. In this they were completely foiled by our sharpshooters in the rifle pits threw so close and deadly fire among them that the men would not come to time — three times more they made the attempt and each time failed most signally. When I state that Fagan's division was by Price considered the most reliable and least demoralized of his remaining army, it is significant evidence of the disheartened condition of their army. When old soldiers cannot be made to dress their line for a charge (the nature of the



Col. William Brooks, C.S.A.

ground compelling them to form under our fire,) under skirmish fire, they are demoralized indeed. From eleven, A.M., to sunset, they shelled us incessantly — constantly endeavoring to advance their skirmish line, but without success, our men lying in their works showing so little fear that General Fagan remarked "there must be 8,000 men in that fort, they keep so still and cool." This must have been an after conclusion, for in the morning, when investing us on the northwest and south, he showed no force on the east, but put two regiments in ambush on the east behind the first mountain, with orders to "remain in the saddle and to charge the Feds, the moment they reach you in their retreat;" showing plainly that Fagan



Gen. James Fagan, C.S.A.

expected to scare us out with a few shells. But this time we were as once before, when Colonel Brooks, with 950 men, demanded a surrender of Major Hunt of ours, who was in command of 350 men at this post. Brooks said, when Hunt declined, "they don't scare worth a d—n;" and I dare say Fagan thought the same.

Our officers behaved as officers should, and the men were cool as soldiers ever are.

More anon. X.

— — — —

The War in Arkansas

EDITOR'S NOTE: Nearly 20 days after the siege ended, The New York Times of Nov. 24, 1864, briefly reported the successful efforts of the Union forces.

The War in Arkansas — Battle at Fayetteville — Price Again Defeated.

St. Louis. Wednesday, Nov. 23

Advices from Fayetteville, Arkansas, say Col. Brooks with 2,500 rebels attacked that place Oct. 28, but was repulsed with considerable loss. From that time to Nov. 3, the town was pretty closely invested, when Gen. Fagan with about 6,000 of Price's retreating forces came up, and bombarded the place five hours, with two pieces of artillery, but were held at bay until the next day, when Gens. Curtis and Blunt arrived, and the rebels skedaddled. They lost nearly one thousand killed and wounded. Our loss was one killed.

A missionary who traveled some forty miles with Price in Arkansas reports that the General told him he had lost over ten thousand men killed and wounded and deserted, and that his expedition into Missouri had been most disastrous.



Make a Gift That Gives Back to You

You can leave a legacy for the Washington County Historical Society and secure a guaranteed income stream during your lifetime. How? Through a charitable gift annuity at Arkansas Community Foundation.

A charitable gift annuity is a contract between you and Arkansas Community Foundation. Under the arrangement, you transfer assets to the Foundation in exchange for a commitment from the Foundation to pay you a fixed sum for the remainder of your lifetime.

Current Rates (subject to change)			
Individuals Ages	Rate	Couples Ages	Rate
65	4.7%	Husband 65, Wife 60	4.0%
70	5.1%	Husband 70, Wife 65	4.4%
75	5.8%	Husband 75, Wife 70	5.8%
80	6.8%	Husband 80, Wife 75	5.3%

Rates are for illustration purposes only. The Arkansas Community Foundation will design a gift annuity to benefit you and the Washington County Historical Society.

After your death, the remaining principal and income is retained by the Foundation and used to support the programs of the Washington County Historical Society.

Through a charitable gift annuity, you can increase your retirement income, postpone capital gains tax and receive an income tax deduction, all while make plans for a significant legacy gift to your community. Find out how you can support the Washington County Historical Society through a charitable gift annuity.



Contact Katie Tennant, executive director of Fayetteville Area Community Foundation, a local affiliate office of Arkansas Community Foundation. Contact her at fayettevillearea@arcf.org or 479-444-6880.

Flashback

Washington County Historical Society
118 East Dickson Street
Fayetteville, AR 72701

Non-Profit Organization

U.S. Postage

PAID

Fayetteville, Arkansas

Permit No.1